

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD--OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

WHOLE NO. 673.

a,¹ spirit of the Bible is a unit, whether pertaining to the
 os. Old or New Testament; and is founded in inno-
 e.² cency, and in principles of right; and it constitutes
 that power from which flow, great moral results, and

that power from within flow great moral results, and the best good of man. The text is a great moral precept; and is as obligatory on man to observe and do, as any that are contained in the New Testament. We have the same gospel in Leviticus as is in Luke. The text is equivalent to a call from God to come out from the apocalyptic Babylon. Faithful rebuke is the legitimate result of love to man. The object is, to convince him of his error. His duty is as universal as is the sinfulness of mankind, and is peculiarly applicable to the sin of slaveholding. The inherent sinfulness of the slave system may be known by a reference to the slaveholding laws. Surely, what is left of the man, subject to such a system? Slavery is the holding of man as a chattel. In every instance, slaveholding is a voluntary act. There can be no involuntary slaveholding. ¹ Where there is a will, there is a way; is an old proverb. The system of slaveholding should be exposed, and its supporters

faithfully rebuked. To do this is a high christian duty for us to discharge. The eternal interests of slaveholders, which I present to you this day, demand this of you. This law of christian rebuke requires us to rebuke slaveholders. It is a christian law. The responsibility and prospects of slaveholders we should consider. They compel 2,600,000 human beings to live and labor for their benefit. 250,000 slaveholders and their abettors sustain such a system of unparalleled legalized wrong. Their wretched victims are looking for freedom, as for the light of the morning. What a tremendous responsibility! Prayer for the emancipation of the slave cannot be heard, neither entertained, by the power which sustains slaveholding, which power constitutes the centralization of slavery. Slaveholding is sustained by positive enactments, perfectly arbitrary. Take away these laws, and what becomes of the system?

The sum of all these laws is to keep the slave from becoming a man—a sentient, willing and thinking agent. The first and leading design of the law is to crush the man in every thing, right or wrong; and this is the result of the system. It must be so, whether right or wrong. The slave must yield implicit obedience to the master in every thing. His knowledge is graduated by his possessor. Though the soul that is without knowledge is not good, yet it will not serve the system to have him elevated to the rank of a sentient being. It is penal to teach slaves to read. To give a tract to a slave in Louisiana, teaching him the command of God, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me,' would be deemed an act worthy of death. Do you disbelieve it? Try it, and sad experience will teach you that it is verily so. The slave *must* be kept in the state of a thing, or he will stand up, and in the strength of his God defend his rights.

We behold many groups of persons encircling this system. And, first, the property holders. Real estate in Maryland has diminished in four years sixty-five millions of dollars. This was asserted by a member of Congress in a planters' meeting. Why is this? With all their advantages, the system is continually ^{being} ~~losing~~ ^{losing} implements, and accumulation of debts. It is seen in the perils of the slaveholder—in his pistols, rifles, bowie-knives, manacles, fetters, and prisons. This is seen in their general state of society, morals, &c. Why have we not the same state of society here at the North? Because we have no slaves. The depression of morals, then, is appalling. The system is at war with all that is lovely and blessed in life. There their religion is controlled by a system which is full of cruelty, and which creates its like—heathenism.

Again: look at the traffickers in slaves, who eluc-

ter around the system, with fetters, prisons, legislators, and obsequious politicians, all encircling the central power. The net of legislation is a moral one, right or wrong; and this central power controls the slaveholding States. If it is not so, why is free discussion so prepotently and resolutely forbidden? Why does it control the nation socially, politically, and religiously? Why are the prayers of thousands and hundreds of thousands denied a hearing in behalf of humanity? A great company of oppressed hearts in sympathy gather around the enslaved church, shedding rivers of tears, and crying to God. They have no ephemeral impression of the wrongs of slavery. Others are crying, 'Let us alone,' and these constitute another church. Numerous others in anguish are saying, 'Brethren, do not so unkindly—let the oppressed go free.'

Then comes the bleeding, mourning church, which

constitutes the outer circle. She asks to be heard. She lifts up her voice, and cries aloud, 'Come out, come out of her, my people.' Then follow the deep tones of southern rebuke, saying to her, 'Keep silence, or the church will be rent in twain.'

The church must speak on this subject in a manner that will show her to be in a true position. And when she does speak, her voice will be heard. She cannot long behold this crying sin in our land, and withhold her faithful rebuke, and continue to be the church of God. She has got to bear a faithful testimony against the system of slaveholding, or God will cast her off, and raise up children from the stones unto Abraham. She constitutes the outline of concentric circles, interests and relations which surround this wicked system.

We should contemplate the future prospects of the slaveholders, with all their mighty interests which

encircle them, and the tremendous responsibility resting upon them. They are moving onward to their final destiny, to meet their God and receive their final sentence. And shall we let them continue on in their wickedness unrebuked? Can the church of God still continue to hold her peace? The command is, 'Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy brother, and not suffer sin upon him.'

How shall this rebuke be administered? In the best way to secure the end in view. When administered kindly, there is the most hope of success, other things being equal. Hard names have a tendency to repell the delinquent. It should be administered kindly, intelligently and faithfully. We, in order to be able to perform this duty intelligibly, should know whereof we affirm. We must know what slavery is; otherwise, we shall be but poorly prepared to answer their objections and cavillings. This knowledge of the

character of the system of slavery is to be obtained by reading and investigating the subject. Light and knowledge are needed. And is there not a profusion of it at hand, already for us? The rebuke is to be administered explicitly, and the hardest epithet that can be heaped upon them is to call them SLAVEHOLDERS! The rebuke is to be administered perseveringly—giving them 'line upon line, and precept upon precept.' Christian discretion is to be exercised as to the proper time and manner of administering the re-

bake. Brethren, a great moral duty devolves upon us respecting this great and crying sin. We see the evil, and have the remedy to administer. Cry aloud and spare not, unitedly. The whole church of God unitedly should lift up her voice. Has she done it? No! Show us wherein we have been in an error, in what we have already done, and we will retract. Facts do speak and testify against the delinquencies of the church. Is not the church ready to bear her faithful testimony? We rejoice in this Convention, and from it anticipate great good. The time has passed when a church, and especially a Christian minister, can any longer remain silent respecting this subject innocently. The world is waking up, and gazing at the system of American slavery with astonishment, and its fiery ordeal the system cannot long withstand. The testimony of the church would now tell effectually on the system of slavery, and decide its fate. Let her influence unitedly tell in the right way. Let her members no longer cripple and neutralize each other's influence. The struggle is now a hard one. It must, from the nature of the combatants, be so. Liberty and slavery are antagonists. They have approached each other and grappled, and the consequence is, the nation and church are convulsed thereby. The call now is for aid. Will you help in this great struggle for liberty and right? There is no neutrality in this warfare. This Convention (and I speak advisedly) is known throughout the land, and its influence will be felt in every nook and corner of it, for the slave, or against him.

This day has been looked to with intense interest by those who hold their fellow-men in chains. Then let the church so act, that it may be said of her, 'She hath done what she can.' The cries of the entrained comes up to us for our sympathy, and in our unbroken voice they ask us to do all that we can, in the spirit of our religion, to hasten the end of their days of wrong and outrage. If you feel as I do, you will confess your past remission, and with feelings of sorrow for the past, now resolve to do all you can to let the oppressed go free.

The President, Rev. Noah Porter, D. D. communicated to the Convention a letter from Gov. William W. Ellsworth, addressed to John T. Norton. This letter was commended to the Convention. This letter was a rare production, and exhibited the unprincipled and pro-slavery heart of the writer. It is to be published in the Christian Freeman, and, as the effusions of the heart of a Deacon and Superintendent of the Sabbath School in Rev. Joel Hawes' church, exhibit well northern pro-slavery in Church and State, under the head of 'Refuge of Oppression.'

Discussion of the 3d resolution resumed. Rev. G. W. Perkins. To show the character of the religious teachings at the South, I will relate an interview I had recently with a fugitive slave. He called on me, but manifested a very great anxiety to be on his way to Canada, and was very shy of me. Thinking I might obtain his confidence thereby, I told him that I was a minister, and he need not be afraid of me. At this declaration, he appeared still more shy, and appeared to distrust me more. He said they had a plenty of ministers at the South, and they always preached from one text—'Servants, be obedient unto your masters.' And this without doubt is a true statement of the nature of the religious teachings to the slaves at the South.

The Chairman. Why should an effort be made to place the Bible into the hands of the slaves, when they cannot read them, and when their introduction would be met with so much determined opposition from the slaveholders?

Rev. L. Crocker. I dislike the term anti-slavery, as it is made to signify most every thing, and will offer as a substitute the term emancipator.

Levi Yale. I am surprised to witness the alacrity manifested by some of the members of the Convention at the word anti-slavery. I think the term very significant, and hope the substitute will not be adopted.

Rev. J. Brewer, the great pacificator, seconded the amendment. I wish to do all I can, without compromising principle, to pacify those who exhibit so much skittishness about terms.

Rev. L. Crocker. I am not afraid to receive that term, and much more than a bug-bear with very many well-disposed men. I think the amendment more impressive.

W. H. Burleigh. I like the term anti-slavery, on account of its peculiar significance. I shall be opposed to the amendment.

Rev. J. Crocker. We had a specimen of anti-slavery efforts a few weeks ago in Hartford, in the shape of a female lecturing in the streets; and thus we see how the term is appropriated.

Rev. Erasmus Cotton, from Hartford. I hope we shall all act harmoniously, and, to prevent any discord arising, I will propose, that the word judicious be inserted before the word anti-slavery—thereby obviating the necessity of endorsing 'woman's rights,' and their lecturing in the streets.

Prof. J. Burt. The term anti-slavery I consider a very appropriate one, and on which every body readily understands to mean opposition to slavery.

S. M. Booth. There are other resolutions, which will explain what we mean by the phrase anti-slavery efforts. The word judicious would explain nothing. Those who sanction women's lecturing, believe it judicious for women to lecture; and those who do not sanction that practice, believe it to be injudicious. The resolution was amended by inserting the word judicious, and adopted.

4th Resolution. 'Will not commune, nor hold Christian fellowship with those who voluntarily hold slaves, or those who defend the system, &c.'

The President proposed to strike out the word 'voluntarily'—for I do not believe that any are involuntary slaveholders. Still, I believe that there are Christians among slaveholders, and such he would be unwilling to exclude from Christian communion and fellowship. 'What is good enough for Christ, is good enough for me.'

Rev. G. W. Perkins accepted the amendment. I wish to do all I can to unite the Convention, and to promote harmonious action.

Rev. David Root. I, too, sincerely desire harmony. I think the sentiment, when applied to slaveholders, 'What is good enough for Christ, is good enough for me,' is a very fallacious one, and leads to a fundamental error. Furthermore, we do not act on this principle. Many whom we believe to be Christians, we do not admit to communion. All unprincipled persons, who give good evidence of being Christians, we exclude from communion and Christian fellowship.

There are six thousand northern churches, that have taken action to exclude slaveholders from their pulpits and communion. Shall we exclude any one who is guilty of crime, or of any overt act? and is not slavery a sin, a crime? Do you say not in all cases? Then I will prove that lying is not in all cases a sin. Some of our brethren there, who will withdraw, if we take this ground. If we do not take some action on the subject, of what utility will this Convention be? I believe the time has arrived when we should take decided action on this subject, and push it as fast as the public mind will bear it. I believe the sentiment in the resolution to be true ground.

Rev. L. Crocker. We ought to keep in mind the grand design of this Convention. It is not to adopt resolutions, but to get right respecting the sin of slavery, and to unite on some outward rules of conscience. The consciences of men are much at variance on the subject now. We were told, last evening, that President Edwards adopted the sentiment of the resolution. This was a mistake. The elder President Edwards defended slaveholding. The younger President Edwards wrote against it. This showed that progress the cause made from father to son. We should learn from this to be patient and prudent, and go on to discuss the principles, and act

them out as fast as public opinion will permit. Slaveholders have been permitted to preach in pulpits in this city. One who owns one slave has preached in my pulpit acceptably. The resolution, I think, will be liable to be misunderstood, and an unfavorable impression, made upon the public mind, if persisted in by those ultra measures of the Convention. I hope it will be withdrawn.

There is a misapprehension in the minds of some, respecting the origin of these Conventions. They originated in an overture from Hartford North Association to New-Haven West. Public conscience is not yet established on this question, and we ought not to attempt to bind conscience by the adoption of any such rules. Churches and ecclesiastical bodies must settle rules of duty for themselves. Let us not put forth any such resolutions: they will do hurt.

William H. Burleigh. I think unanimity in opinion to be very desirable, but it should never be sought for at the expense of principle. We should never sacrifice any moral principle for the purpose of obtaining a union of action. We had much better be in the minority in the truth, than with the majority in error. In attacking a sin, we have to contemplate a sinner; and in our attack upon slavery, we have to consider the slaveholders. We have been asked to let our attacks be made against slavery in the abstract, and to let the character of the slaveholders alone. Sir, we can't very well tear down a fort while it is defended by armed men. We have first to rout the men, and spike their cannon. If there is a sinner, why not speak of him as such, plainly and in all kindness? I supposed that this Convention assembled to do something; but I find one objecting to this course, another to that, and so contemplated in the call. Something like Ex-Governor Ellsworth, who is opposed to anti-slavery principles being carried out either in religion or politics. I hold the call in my hand, which invites us to adopt a system of measures—and this resolution is one measure, and an appropriate one.

There can be no more positive support given to slavery than to stand connected with it in any organization. There is no such thing as an involuntary slaveholder. If the law declared me to be a slaveholder, that law could not make me one. No government can make a man a slaveholder without his consent. I would urge the passage of the resolution as a duty to the slaveholder. As long as we extend the hand of communion to him, we sanction and sustain slavery. I almost consider it impious to associate Christianity with slaveholding. Shall we make their darkness or light our rule of action? We ought rather to walk after the light we have. Shall we, when we see persons doing that which we know to be in violation of God's law, set to them the seal of our approbation? This we do, if we fellowship them as Christians. We are performing our Christian duty when we exclude slaveholders from our communion. We thereby put in operation a train of influence to lead them to reflect on the nature of their sin, and to repent. On the contrary, so long as we fellowship them as Christians, we confirm them in their sin.

Rev. R. Jennings. There are many present, who have heretofore done nothing for the slave. This is their first movement: they are now adopting their first measures. We should consider well what we are doing. I doubt very much whether the Convention is prepared to adopt such a resolution. We need to go through a course of discipline in our churches, before we attempt to exclude slaveholders. Take the temperance reform, for illustration. Suppose when a few had assembled to discuss the righteousness of selling rum—and before we had had time to consider the question fully—others had come in and offer a resolution to exclude rum-sellers from communion? Would not that be moving too fast? I think we have not labored with the slaveholders long enough yet, for us to adopt such a resolution. Endeavor still longer to lead them to repentance. If they will not repent, then cut them off. How should I feel to lift up my hand to excommunicate one with whom I had not labored?

Rev. E. R. Gilbert, from Wallingford. I object to the amendment, striking out the word 'voluntarily.' As amended, it is very indefinite. Who supports slavery? There is a great diversity of opinion on this point. I move that the resolution be laid on the table.

Rev. Mr. Husted. I second the motion to lay the resolution on the table.

A. F. Williams. I hope the resolution as amended will prevail. I do not understand the object of the motion, unless it is to give the resolution the go-by. This resolution I consider of more consequence than all the others.

The Chair. It can be called up whenever the Convention chooses to consider it further. I hope its further consideration will not be deferred until most of the members of the Convention have left. Now is the time the question should be acted upon, and I hope the brethren are prepared to act upon it manfully—to say to it yes or no.

J. W. North. I prefer that every other resolution should be laid aside than this one.

Rev. A. Granger. I think this resolution, as amended, similar to the one adopted at the Farmington Convention.

Rev. L. Crocker. I hope the motion to lay the resolution on the table will prevail. We had better disperse without saying anything, than to create division among the brethren. I wish to keep up the harmony of the church. If we pass such a resolution, it will not be binding on the churches of this State to observe—they will act in reference to this subject as they please. I wish it might lie over to another Convention. (Half a dozen voices—much confusion.)

Rev. Mr. Atwater. I wish to act now on the resolution, but cannot vote for it as amended.

Rev. J. Birney. I hope that action on the resolution will not be deferred; for, doubtless, the same persons may not all be at the next convention. We ought to be willing to pass this resolution. It would be taking away one of the main props to the system of slavery, and operate as a powerful means for its being speedily overturned.

The motion to lay on the table was not sustained, and the resolution was adopted as amended, several ministers dissenting.

[TO BE CONSIDERED.]

5th Resolution. 'The following tribute to the memory of the late Dr. CHANNING has been forwarded to us for insertion in the Liberator, by our friend JAMES HARRINGTON of Dublin, one of the brightest ornaments of Ireland—one of the world's benefactors.'

Unitarian Christian Society of Dublin. At a meeting of the Irish Unitarian Christian Society, held in Dublin, April, 1843, the following resolution was passed, on the motion of JAMES HARRINGTON, Esq. Seconded by WILLIAM ARTHUR, Esq. viz:

'That in recording the death, we would unite with all who worthily appreciated him, in rendering our public tribute to the memory, of that great and good man, the illustrious CHANNING, the powerful and shrinking defender of pure Christianity and the rights of our race; that we would raise for him a fitting monument in the hearts and affections of mankind, by testifying our love for the deep, devoted piety that sanctified his life, and breathes in his deathless prayers; our admiration of his earnest solicitude and noble exertion for the diffusion of Peace, for the redemption of the demoralized and oppressed, and the extirpation of slavery—that odious system which degrades man, the image of God, into a chattel, and with but partial exceptions, finds an indelible stigma upon the churches of America, of every creed; and our veneration for all the great works of Love and Mercy in which he was engaged, wherein we recognize, in all their loveliness of power, those exalted and glorious principles of love to God and to our neighbor, which our common Redeemer has declared to be the essence of the holy religion which he taught.'

At a meeting of the Unitarian Christian Society, held in Dublin, April, 1843, the following resolution was passed, on the motion of JAMES HARRINGTON, Esq. Seconded by WILLIAM ARTHUR, Esq. viz:

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Letter from Nathaniel Barney.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

I send you for publication the following letter, received from Nathaniel Barney of Nantucket. He is a sterling specimen of the Society of Friends, after the primitive pattern.

Your readers are all aware, that while on most of our railroads equal privileges have been accorded to all persons irrespective of color; on the New-Bedford and two other roads, an invidious, tyrannical and unconstitutional usage has prevailed of 'colorizing' the colored man to a separate and usually a much less safe and comfortable car. During the period of this regulation, friend Barney, Quaker-like, has refused to receive the dividends upon his stock. Although the rule in question is already repealed, he is still too scrupulous to profit by that which is tainted with injustice and oppression.

In the following letter, you will see how this upright man settles the account with the railroad and with his conscience.

I perhaps owe an apology to friend Barney for publishing a private letter, but it is honorable to him, and will be gratifying and beneficial to your readers, and I must therefore take the responsibility.

FRANCIS JACKSON.

NANTUCKET, 11th mo. 10th, 1843.

The Treasurer of the New-Bedford and Taunton Railroad will please pay to the order of Francis Jackson, for William Lloyd Garrison, in view of his faithful and undeviating advocacy of the rights of humanity, the dividends, severally, which have been declared on my stock in said corporation, and which are now due to me, and oblige

His assured friend,

NATHANIEL BARNEY.

NANTUCKET, 11th mo. 10th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I have within a few days received an official message, in reference to the New-Bedford and Taunton Railroad. This road is now free, and hence I am prepared to receive my dividends. For eighteen months I have returned them. There are three dividends due, being \$22 50. I had determined to never receive these; but as I have reflected on the subject, I have come to the conclusion, in view of the faithful testimony which our friend, W. L. Garrison, has, for a series of years, borne against the spirit of proscription, to subjoin an order for them to receive and hand to him, the amount in the treasury to my credit.

And thus it is Lydia Maria Child once said, 'that inch by inch the ground is gained.' I rejoice that this road is no longer proscription, inasmuch as I shall feel a freedom and an interest which I have not of late known, when I have been upon it. The friend of freedom has much to encourage him, when he reflects upon the present aspect of the humanitary cause. The policy of the political parties of the times only, and I do it without any other party feeling than that which has a bearing upon *chattel property*. This will be accredited, when I tell thee that I have not cast a vote for a national or State officer since 1824. A single glance at the recent developments touching the State elections, reveals the story. Let no friend of freedom despair, when he hears the present policy of the political parties, and contrast it with that of the same parties, only a few years ago. Then, no effort was spared to prove how decidedly anti-slavery was eschewed. Now, the candidates for office are loud in their protestations of reverence to this once despised cause. Well, let it be, as it really should be, the test of political morality. Let us see how the policy of the parties, inasmuch as no slaveholder can again obtain the electoral vote of Massachusetts. Vermont and Massachusetts are too enlightened, are too much baptised into the spirit of freedom, to lend their instrumentality, so directly, to a system embodying, as the good John Wesley said, 'the *sum of all villainies*,' and, of course, at the same time, a principle of justice, humanity and religion. The fact, that those occupying the highest places, both in the Church and the State, are the principals in this aggression and wrong, though it may have heretofore sanctified them, cannot much longer hide the iniquity, nor avert the hand that is uplifted to remove the veil which selfishness and cowardice have drawn around the present position. True, the friends of the cause, and consequent services in the churches in New-York. See his letter, dated 'Oct. 23, 1843,' in the New-York Tribune, viz: 'So clear is my conscience on this subject, that if I wanted a good servant, and could meet with one to suit me, and could find means to purchase a faithful servant, I should do it with a safe conscience, for, to the best of my judgment, as to the thing of the moment, I see no more sin in such a purchase, than in the purchase of a good horse, or any thing else.' Yes, he would purchase a member of his own church, and use him as a 'thing,' a 'piece of personal property,' and others, in practice, carry out the awful doctrine which was avowed in 'General Conference' in 1840, by the Rev. Mr. Crane of Virginia, viz: 'The slave is not only a creature, but a thing, and regulated by the Bible, but it was positively instituted by God himself. He has in so many words enjoined it! In view of a similar sentiment, Stephen S. Foster exclaims, 'Hug be the heavens in sackcloth! Let the sun hide his face in darkness, as when the infuriated Jews said to the Son of God to the cross!'

But I for the time being, I am a Quaker, and I advocate for freedom hold on his way, and the angelic anthem may yet be sung—'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men.' Affectionately thy friend,

N. BARNEY.

The Stagnant Waters Troubled.

GREENVILLE, (Ct.) Nov. 8th, 1843.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: I will now give you some information as to the effect of that moral tornado which by your lecture you set in motion among us, and which Dr. Hudson and James Boyle have helped to prolong. A terrible convulsion and uproar have followed the labors of anti-slavery agents in this place, for the first time. The moral putrefaction emitted proves, beyond a doubt, that the sore has been probed to the bottom. I now think the reason the other lecturers produced no greater effect, was because they did not take the ground that no apostle or upholder of slavery could possibly be a Christian; and that consequently, no northern church and clergy were anti-Christian. Here is the sensitive spot, and one which abolitionists have not touched until recently, in this region, at least. The reason is obvious. What care the great mass of mankind what sins or guilt you charge upon them, so long as you allow them to remain in a state of ignorance, and thus to be the tools of the devil? But I for the time being, I am a Quaker, and I advocate for freedom hold on his way, and the angelic anthem may yet be sung—'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men.' Affectionately thy friend,

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DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: I will now give you some information as to the effect of that moral tornado which by your lecture you set in motion among us, and which Dr. Hudson and James Boyle have helped to prolong. A terrible convulsion and uproar have followed the labors of anti-slavery agents in this place, for the first time. The moral putrefaction emitted proves, beyond a doubt, that the sore has been probed to the bottom. I now think the reason the other lecturers produced no greater effect, was because they did not take the ground that no apostle or upholder of slavery could possibly be a Christian; and that consequently, no northern church and clergy were anti-Christian. Here is the sensitive spot, and one which abolitionists have not touched until recently, in this region, at least. The reason is obvious. What care the great mass of mankind what sins or guilt you charge upon them, so long as you allow them to remain in a state of ignorance, and thus to be the tools of the devil? But I for the time being, I am a Quaker, and I advocate for freedom hold on his way, and the angelic anthem may yet be sung—'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men.' Affectionately thy friend,

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